

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL POSS DUPE

PAGE 01 SOFIA 01871 021019Z

12
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----- 083017

R 020743Z SEP 76
FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1691
INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SOFIA 1871

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CZ, HU, BU
SUBJECT: POLICY ASSESSMENT FOR HUNGARY, BULGARIA, AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA:
COMMON THEMES

REF: STATE 213857

1. REFTEL DATED AUGUST 28 REPORTS AN INTERAGENCY MEETING
THAT TOOK PLACE APRIL 6. PERHAPS DUE TO THE PASSAGE OF TIME
SOME MEMORIES HAVE BECOME DIMMED. THIS WOULD NOT BE SURPRISING.
BUT SINCE MY NAME IS MENTIONED IN THE MESSAGE, I SHOULD POINT
OUT THAT MY RECOLLECTION AND SHORTHAND NOTES OF THE APRIL 6
MEETING DIFFER SUBSTANTIALLY FROM REFTEL.

2. PARTICULARLY PARAGRAPHS 5 AND 6 OF REFTEL, DEALING WITH
THE ADVANTAGES AND LIABILITIES OF "RANKING" OR
SEQUENCING COUNTRIES, DO NOT REFLECT THE VIRTUAL CON-
SENSUS THAT THIS SELF-IMPOSED LIMITATION DOES NOT IN
FACT COMMUNICATE THE SIGNALS THAT ARE INTENDED. MY
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SOFIA 01871 021019Z

RECORD SHOWS THAT ONLY ONE PARTICIPANT, THE REPRESENTATIVE
OF INR/RSE/EE, SPOKE IN FAVOR OF RANKING; AND MANY OF

THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST IT WERE DELETED OR FORGOTTEN --
FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF SUPPOSED BENEFICIARIES
WHO MIGHT BE THOUGHT TO FAVOR IT, SUCH AS THAT OF
ROMANIA, IN FACT COUNSEL AGAINST IT.

3. THE LAST SENTENCE OF PARA 5, ON THE OTHER HAND, SEEMS
TO SHOW THAT NOTE-TAKER OR DRAFTER DID NOT QUITE UNDER-
STAND THE DISCUSSION. THE WEIGHT OF THE ARGUMENT AGAINST
RANKING OR SEQUENCING WAS NOT THAT DOING AWAY WITH IT
COULD "INCREASE OUR PRESENCE AND LEVERAGE" IN PARTICU-
LAR EE COUNTRIES. IT WAS THAT ALTHOUGH SEQUENCING WAS
INTENDED TO INCREASE OUR LEVERAGE, IN FACT IT TIES OUR
OWN HANDS WITHOUT HAVING ANY EFFECT IN THE COUNTRIES CON-
CERNED BECAUSE THEY AREN'T EVEN AWARE OF IT. EVERYONE
AT THE MEETING AGREED THAT THE "CARROT AND STICK" APPROACH
DESCRIBED IN PARA 6 MAKES VERY GOOD SENSE AND IS THE
ONE WE SHOULD FOLLOW. BUT THE POINT WAS MADE, AND I
THOUGHT GENERALLY ACCEPTED, THAT IN PRACTICE -- EXCEPT
IN SUCH MAJOR MATTERS AS MFN -- SEQUENCING PROVIDES US
WITH NO CARROT AND NO STICK.

4. PRESIDENT LINCOLN IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE SAID AT A
CABINET MEETING, "GENTLEMEN, THERE ARE ELEVEN NAYS
AND ONE AYE. THE AYES HAVE IT." THIS WE SHOULD ALL
ACCEPT WHEN A MESSAGE COMES FROM A POLICY OFFICIAL WHO
HAS LISTENED TO CONTRARY OPINION BUT MADE UP HIS
MIND OTHERWISE. BUT WE ARE DEALING HERE WITH A REPORT-
ING MESSAGE; AND SINCE I AM THE ONLY PERSON MENTIONED
BY NAME AS HAVING ATTENDED THE MEETING I WISH IT TO BE
NOTED THAT STATE 213857 DOES NOT ACCORD WITH MY
RECOLLECTION.
HERZ

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: REPORTS, FOREIGN RELATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, AMENDMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 SEP 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976SOFIA01871
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760333-0414
From: SOFIA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760997/aaaadeze.tel
Line Count: 93
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 2
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 76 STATE 213857
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <09 APR 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <03 AUG 2004 by ullricre>; APPROVED <03 AUG 2004 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: POLICY ASSESSMENT FOR HUNGARY, BULGARIA, AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA: COMMON THEMES
TAGS: PFOR, CZ, HU, BU
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006